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3

THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

COMMUNAL ceremonies had to do with food and with the rain necessary for its production. The most important of them all was that which "brought down the clouds" in July; this is still widely held among the northern Papago. Here it is described as having occurred in the youth of old informants.

Rainmaking magic consisted in fermenting and drinking a liquor made from the fruit of the giant cactus (*Cereus giganticus*). The name of the ceremony is *ndwai't* from *nawai* (liquor) and *ta* (the suffix which means to make).[1] The idea is that the saturation of the body with liquor typifies and produces the saturation of the earth with rain. Every act of the procedure is accompanied with ceremonial singing or oratory describing rain and growth.

PREPARATION

The festival took place in July, which marks the beginning of the rainy season and of the Papago year. For three weeks previous to this ceremony the giant cactus fruit is ripe on all the southern hill slopes, and every family left its winter quarters and went to camp in some grove to which it had a more or less hereditary right. The women of the family made a tour of their territory every day, filling their baskets with the fruit pulp and leaving the shells, with their red lining uppermost, "to draw the rain." Since the pulp will

[1] The Pima were still holding the drinking festival in 1902, though Russell calls it "a drunken orgy," "with the element of sacredness at a minimum." Russell, pp. 170–71.

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this way. Tradition tells how they rubbed flower perfume on their hands and carried tiny sacks of the fungus known as "earth flowers" that are supposed to be magically attractive to deer and to women. At the end of the line of adults walked the children. The two ends of the curved line almost joined, and there might be a hundred people dancing.

Each song was sung four times or a multiple of four, and a favorite song might be repeated sixteen or even thirty-two times. The words were in the nature of compulsive magic, describing the coming of the clouds and rain over the local landscape. If any other locality was mentioned as attracting the rain, visitors from there were expected to make a gift in return for the blessing called down. A chance visitor who had no other gift with him would offer some of his clothes—in recent days, his cowboy hat.

The liquor songs [3] may once have been arranged in cycles, though there is little trace of such arrangement now except that certain songs must always be used at the beginning, certain others at the end. Different songs are used for this purpose in the various localities, suggesting that if there were cycles, each locality must have had its own. The initial songs describe the gathering of the people, the final songs, the coming of dawn. Between them come the favorite songs of the village, either traditional or composed by its own people. A man may "dream" a liquor song at any time, either while about his daily occupations or during a retreat for purification. One of the rituals for the salt pilgrimage describes the songs which came to the neophyte in those ceremonies.

> The powers I had won, beneath my bed I placed.
> I lay upon them and lay down to sleep.
> Then, in a little time, mysteriously there came to me
> Beautiful drunken songs,
> Beautiful songs for the circling [rainmaking] dance.

Any man who had dreamed a song might submit it to the elders, and if they approved they would include it in the program. One such "original" song is included in the list, to show how little originality was considered necessary for this sort of composition.

[3] For Pima songs for this dance see Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 292, 293, "circling songs."

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FINAL SONGS

23. Now I have sung
Now I have sung
In every direction they go
In every direction they go
Homeward!
Running!(12)

(Santa Rosa)

24. At the edge of the world
It is growing light.
The trees stand shining.
I like it.
It is getting light.(12)

25. At the edge of the world,
It is growing light.
Up rears the light.
Just yonder, the day dawns,
Spreading over the night.(12)

While the people were dancing several shamans took their places in the center of the circle, each holding eagle plumes or a tuft of eagle down. Sometimes they also held the crystals used for divining. It was their function to foresee the coming of rain and to announce when it might be expected. They walked up and down, holding their eagle plumes to catch the breeze. The liquor maker sometimes addressed them during the singing, to make sure that they were helping with the rainmaking, not mysteriously hindering.

THE LIQUOR MAKER TO THE SHAMAN DURING THE SINGING

26. Now it happened that I desired something. Then you will help me. That it may happen, that which we have planned, to pull down the damp wind and pull down the clouds. They will wet the ground, and in it we shall plant.

Therewith we shall feed our children. Our friends who come from afar we shall feed therewith. Therewith we shall feel happy. Therewith we shall be alert. Therewith all shall be well.(3)

In former days the shamans often performed rain magic at this time. Tradition says that they would walk to the string of eagle

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feathers hanging over the dance place, shake it, and cause drops to fall. Or they might squeeze drops from some object held in the hand, even from crystal. "Between dances I was nursing my baby, and I fell asleep. A shaman, who was my kinsman, came with his eagle plumes and squeezed drops on my face to wake me."(26)

The dancing lasted until dawn, with pauses for smoking. These pauses were, anciently, a period of license, regarded as fertility magic. No opprobrium attached to the changing of partners by married people at such a time, and many young men were famous for their exploits. Young girls, who were carefully secluded, were either not allowed to attend at all or were kept close to their mothers all night.

At dawn, the crier bade the people go home and sleep, but to come again and sing on the following night. In some of the villages a rabbit hunt was held on the intervening day, so that there might be a feast for guests. Otherwise, the people slept. Meanwhile, the tasters continued to test the liquor and to watch it ferment; if it showed no signs of bubbling, after forty-eight hours, some shaman would be accused of bewitching it. The writer remembers an occasion at Santa Rosa, when the liquor failed to bubble at the proper time. The village was shrouded in an atmosphere of gloom and was rife with accusations, both of sorcery and of breach of taboo. Had not fermentation finally taken place, there might have been some unpleasant incidents.

On the second night the people sang again, and toward dawn, if all went well, the liquor was generally at the peak of fermentation. After the final song and before the people separated, the shamans announced when rain might be expected. If there were several shamans and each made a different prognostication, those who were mistaken were in danger of losing their reputation. There was usually some leeway in that a man might say: "I meant four days from the end of the singing, not from the beginning"; or, "I meant a heavy rain, not a light one." Then the crier sent the people home with the words:

27. When the liquor has reached the right point, then you will eat. Then up there [at your houses] the blackface will summon you. Immediately you will assemble. We shall sit and drink.(26)

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224 food nor water. They were sure of getting meat of some kind. They [272] would drink the blood, and, in any case, they prided themselves on being *skutsk* (able to endure thirst). Those who would don the disguise wore sleeveless shirts of deerskin whitened in front to imitate the deer's belly, black behind, like his back. They carried white clay with which at the last minute they would dapple their brown legs and arms. At the same time, they would assume the disguise and then emerge from behind some shelter to walk toward the deer on all fours.

As men gathered at the rendezvous, they moved quietly and spoke in low tones so as not to offend the deer. Some even maintained complete silence. If anyone felt that he or his weapons had been exposed to contact with a menstruating woman, the shaman performed some part of the ceremony for driving away evil, to be described later. This applied only to fathers or brothers who had run the risk unconsciously. The husband of a menstruant or a pregnant woman was required to stay at home, on pain of being wounded in the hunt or causing illness to his child.

224 Those who had hunting fetishes, exposed them. Such a fetish ● 789 was usually a "blue stone" or a "white stone" whose whereabouts had been suggested by an animal visitant in a vision. Those who had had no vision sometimes owned a less reputable form of magic, though they would not confess it. This came from the lichen called "earth flowers," which grew on rocks in inaccessible places. Men climbed to get it, and, after asking its permission, rubbed off a little [283] with a rock and wore it in the folds of the breech clout. It attracted both deer and women, and its odor on a man's sweaty hands in the drinking dance would bring any woman to him, they said. But it was dangerous, and a man who used it too long would ultimately sicken and die. No man ever admitted possessing it, and the few whom the writer knew to be suspected of owning it were regarded with fear.[3]

Such private magic was always subsidiary to the singing of songs to summon the deer. For this the men arranged themselves in a

[3] The writer finally obtained a small amount of earth flowers in a buckskin bag, but it was too dry and powdered for identification. It may be the same growth which she scraped off a rock in Mohave country and which has not yet been analyzed. The Mohave shaman who lent his pocket knife for the process (while turning his back) professed to be ill for some days afterward.

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other's behalf) stepped into the circle, placed his foot on its neck, and strangled it. After this came the ceremony of turning the deer from one side to the other by representatives of the four sibs, then the ritual speech and the butchering.

The meat was cooked the following day on the dance ground, where piles of cooked corn and squash had been brought by the villagers. Before the dance the shaman took a branch of thorny cholla and waved it over the pots in which the meat was cooking and the vegetables on display. If there were sickness in the village, he carried the thorny branch around to "collect the evil from the houses," then took the branch out to the north, the abode of evil, and buried it. While he did so, the ritual orator recited a speech for magic purposes, in a low voice, with emphasis on the last word of each sentence. In the transcribed version an ocotillo is spoken of as collecting the evil, rather than the cholla, whose thorns are finer, but more numerous.

SPEECH AT THE CLEANSING CEREMONY
(Santa Rosa)

12. Hail!
There did I call by the kinship term
My young men grown.

Toward the west was a black road made and finished.
Four stops made the youth [I sent] and speedily did come
Where stood a black ocotillo.
Not slowly back to me he came and said:

"Within itself it rustles as it stands;
Within itself it thunders as it stands;
Within itself it roars as there it stands;
Within is much soft rain.
Around it four times did I circle
And toward the west; a branch I broke with all my force.
I took it, and to you I brought it."

Therewith a part of the sickness
Did I pound into the earth and stake it down.

There was, toward the ocean, (south)
A road of many hardships made and finished.

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dance ground, but not near enough to be seen or touched, that its power might not be injured. In a line between the basket and the council house they placed, first a tuft of eagle down, then the branch of cholla which had been waved over the deer meat, and finally an ironwood stake which was to be pounded into the ground, thus crushing down sickness and misfortune.(1)

Before the ceremony began, two shamans, one from each moiety, took stone axes and pounded the ironwood stake until it was invisible. Then they collected evil with the cholla branch and burned it.

There were two boy dancers and two girls from each moiety, chosen from all the country around for their long hair. They were painted in the council house by two men, one from each moiety. All had their bodies covered with dots to represent corn kernels, but the Buzzards had red bodies with white dots, since "the buzzards have red flesh and hearts," while the Coyotes had white bodies with red dots. On the crown of the head they had an eagle feather: a down feather for the girls, wing feather for boys.

The dance was held at night. After sunset the dancers emerged from the ceremonial house in single file, boys and girls alternating, with a *maam* boy leading. As they emerged, all the *maam* dancers turned to the south, the *ʻapap* to the north. They arranged themselves in one long line running north and south.

The singers started a song, and when it was nearly ended the *maam* dancer at the south started it again. When he had nearly finished, the *ʻapap* at the north took it up and finished. Then a new song was started, and the dancing began.

Each song was sung four times: twice while the dancers stepped sidewise, twice while they flexed their knees in position. Toward morning the songs changed, and the dancers began to circle counterclockwise. With the dawn song the dancers suddenly ran about a hundred feet to the east. There they danced during the singing of three songs, and after the last song they ran back into the council house.

Most of the songs are ancient ones, relating to the origin myth, the local version of which was once recited at the ceremony, but is now forgotten.

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11. Then we, having sung,
Go back whence we came.
Watch! It will not be long
Till the earth grows very green.

During the last two repetitions of the song, the dancers arrange themselves side by side and still skipping, they move off the dance ground. When they pass the singers, they break into a run, which they keep up until they reach their own camp.

635 574 Everyone in the host village gathered to watch the skipping dance, and anyone who wished might leave the crowd and skip by the side of some favored visitor. As a rule, only old women had the boldness to do this. The act was considered an honor to the visitor, and his relatives generally met them as they returned, breathless, and presented some small gift, such as a basket or a headband. Song number eight refers to this practice.

789 536 574 The performance was in the nature of an elaborate rain charm, for the benefit of the host village. The name of the village was always mentioned, and the very pronouncing of it in such a connection was a guarantee of blessing. At one of the recent paid performances the number of repetitions of the songs was cut down, lest the White audience be bored. The result was "only a little shower, just over the Hollow Place and nowhere else. If the dance had been properly done, we should all have had rain."

674 476 For the blessing thus brought to their village, the hosts were prepared to pay. They had held a meeting beforehand and decided on the contribution to be made by each.[1] Such a contribution was considered a public duty, and it also assured special prosperity to him who made it. Moreover, next year, when his village was in turn the challenger, he would receive equal value and, if his host could afford it, even more. The payment was an investment on his own behalf and that of his village. But it was often made in a burlesque form, calculated to add to the general merriment.

574 The hostesses brought cooked food to the dance ground, and sometimes threw it to the dancers during their performance. They might also chase them, as they ran for camp, hurling food at them. The dancers washed off their paint and returned to the plaza, where

[1] Underhill, 1939, pp. 108–10.

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the hostesses served cooked food to all the visitors. One informant had seen a hostess arrive with a huge dish of boiled beans which she offered to the singers. She tried to feed them with her hand; they refused, and she smeared the food on their faces. After this, each householder of the challenged village advanced to one of the visitors and said: "You go to my house for your pay." At the house they were given cooked food, clothes, skins, and baskets. But it might be that the naming songs were to follow the skipping dance. In that case, payment was deferred until the whole performance was over. More often, the two entertainments were alternatives and either one or the other was given.

THE NAMING CEREMONY

The naming ceremony was, like the skipping dance, a charm performed by the visitors to secure good luck to their hosts. It consisted of a series of songs celebrating the name of every important man in the village. Mentioning of names in this manner was akin to the mentioning of animal names in songs to cure sickness. The auspicious circumstances brought good luck to the person mentioned, and, though using names was often undesirable, it was here a success charm.

This entertainment required no effigies and no new songs. Each village had a series of songs, some celebrating a shaman, some a wise man, some a warrior, and into this framework they could fit any name they pleased, by lengthening or shortening the lines. It was the custom so to fit the names of their hosts and to be paid for the compliment.[4]

When naming songs were to be sung, the visitors must hear the names to be used on the night before the ceremony, or even earlier, in order to commit them to memory. While they were camped outside the village of their hosts, in the usual way, they sent a messenger to signify their intention and to ask for the names. The host village held a meeting to select the names, since each man sung for would have to provide a substantial gift. Usually there

[4] Russell, p. 171, describes a naming ceremony for the Pima, although he says nothing about a skipping dance or a ceremony of challenge.

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The quiet man came forth,
And the hawk's heart he won
[Racing with the hawk].(19)

33. A little woman shaman
Sends her familiar, the gray dove,
To fly across me.
Yonder, in front of me, it is drawing close.(19)

34. Evening is falling!
Like an eagle I move
Back and forth.

Morning is standing!
Like a hawk I run
Back and forth.(19)

Though all these songs were charms for success, the shamans were expected to make special magic. This service was unpaid, as were all their public activities, "but they bet on the race like the others, and a clever shaman could make his side win and grow very rich."(19) The rival shamans sometimes indulged in a contest of fire eating and sword swallowing. Shamans of one side went through mimetic actions that stimulated the winning of the race, and two of them sometimes charmed the kickball by sitting down and rolling it between them, singing:

35. We roll the kickball
Here on the flat ground,
Bringing good luck.(19)

When the time for the race arrived, each side took a stick and cut into it as many notches as they had runners. The stick was hammered down into the ground near the racetrack, with the idea of hiding the runners from their opponents. The shaman who hammered it sang:

36. Whence comes the shaman
Who drives [the stake] into the ground
Till it disappears?
Here he comes.(19)

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626 [178] There was no magic treatment of the runners themselves. The whole effort was to keep them safe behind the lines and guard them from bewitchment by the other side. In some of the last races which informants remembered, the runners were mounted behind men on horseback, who galloped up to the starting point with them at the last moment. The race, with the stick dice and the women's shinny game, lasted all day. At its close, the visitors gathered up their goods and left without ceremony.

[171] The Papago still hold races between villages, though without much ceremony. The skipping dance and the naming songs have been entirely given up except when the former is presented as a spectacle for the whites.

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29. Coyote, our comrade,
Runs to meet the enemy.
Tomorrow, fight!

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The final song was usually the appeal to Coyote. During this song, at Komarik, one warrior danced in the trail leading to the enemy's country. At the final words all gave the warwhoop, pounded their bows on the ground, or struck their shields(19).

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Meantime, the shamans had been looking for the enemy by the aid of their crystals or by conversations with passing owls. Some were able to blow smoke toward the enemy, causing blindness or a mist which would hide the Papago movements. At the end of the singing they announced where and when the Apache would be met. The men then lay back to sleep, but before doing so they rubbed their hands with a downward stroke over their eyes and breathed in the direction of the enemy to cause him to sleep.(19)

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After entering enemy country there was no further ritual. "They only sang if they were in trouble and could not find the enemy," otherwise they traveled by night and slept by day.

The usual engagement took the form of an early morning raid, when they rushed upon an Apache village, killed a man or two, or perhaps only women and children, and made their escape. No fight could last long, for each of the few men, as soon as he had killed an enemy, must leave the conflict and await purification. This long and complicated procedure will be taken up separately.

VICTORY

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The war party arranged its homeward journey so as to camp on the last night near the village and make an entry at dawn. They collected the Apache trophies (which might be scalps, ears, or merely a war shirt, moccasin, or belt), tied them to a long pole, and sent them ahead by a messenger. As soon as he was within reach of the village, the messenger shouted the names of the enemy slayers, that preparation might be made for their segregation. After this he called the names of any Papago who had been killed.

The young girls of the village immediately set out to meet the war party. They seized each man's weapons and danced with them,

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of some ritual neglect on his part, it got out of control and his character altered correspondingly.

Against sorcery there was no defense but the power of another shaman. It was here that the "liar" came into his own and received public recognition. Usually, his part in ceremonies was to sit silent and apart, waiting to prophesy the outcome. He might even be excluded on suspicion of being a sorcerer himself. But we have seen that in one rite, the cleansing ceremony, he had a prominent part, that of driving out possible danger from the year's meat and crops. When danger actually arrived, in the form of blight or epidemic, he was called on again.[12]

SENDING AWAY EVIL

In such a case, the shaman might repeat the cleansing ceremony, as mentioned on p. 105, or he might perform a special exorcism, known as *d'ata,* literally the "sending away" of evil. Since this was a curing rite, scarcely separable from the witch fighting to be described below, it has been discussed as a function of shamanism rather than a communal ceremony. However, the shaman, in this case, had the assistance of a group of singers, as he did at the cleansing ceremony. They sat in a circle at the council house, singing to the accompaniment of the scraping stick. Their songs seem very like those used at the cleansing ceremony proper, but they were given by the same informants, who insisted there was a difference. Apparently in the vicissitudes which overtake song cycles these particular songs became specialized for one purpose.

SONGS FOR SENDING AWAY EVIL

1. The gray comrade [Coyote]
   On his own legs is standing;
   With his own mouth is barking.(20)

2. Over Komari'k Mountain
   A black eagle is circling;
   Yonder toward the west
   He is shining brightly.(20)

[12] For the same procedure among the Pima see Russell, p. 262.

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An owl speaks.

3. An eagle bird
To a rock summit
My children took.
I long for them.
All night I hoot.(20)

4. A crooked black thousand-legs
Dizzily
Drag-runs, drag-runs, drag-runs
So it seems [bringing rain].(20)

From the origin myth.

5. The earth now verily
I shall erect and finish.
Upon it yonder, verily,
[Living beings] I shall cause to move.

The mountains now verily
I shall erect and finish.
Under them yonder, verily,
[Living beings] I shall cause to move.(4)

6. Under the east
A stone comes forth [shaman's crystal].
There it comes forth.
Morning arrives;
Then a stone comes forth. (27)

7. Yonder, at the foot of the east I came forth;
Yonder, at the foot of the west I arrived.
With my white stone, I came forth;
With my blue stone I arrived.(4)

8. The sun did not hasten to rise;
The sun did not hasten to rise,
On me to shine.
A shaman with his light
On me is shining.(20)

9. Up there upon the red ground there rises,
Up there upon the red ground there rises,

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Up there, a mountain.
I like it.
Up there it rises.(13)

10. Much eagle down spreading out;
Much eagle down spreading out.
Let him sing, let him sing, Elder Brother!
Slowly the clouds begin to come.(20)

Sometimes the epidemic or the blight was not full-fledged, but merely a threat. In that case it was known to no one but the shaman. He would warn the keeper of the smoke that some sorcerer had planted a charm near the village. This charm took various forms. It might be *tai* (fire), which would spread underground and shrivel the plants. It might be *hiwonyi* (a tube filled with sickness). To make such a thing, the evil shaman was supposed to take an eagle wing feather and cut off the tip of the quill, making it into a tube. Within he placed "something out of his heart" and buried it in the earth. It would ultimately swell like a seed and sprout, spreading sickness. If it could be pulled up before it had sprouted, danger would be averted. If it were allowed to sprout, the evil would have to be swept up with the thorny branch many times and perhaps unsuccessfully. Then the only remedy was to catch the sorcerer and kill him.

Sometimes a shaman "saw" with his crystal during the cleansing ceremony that such a charm had been planted. Then the regular songs of the ceremony were followed by the sending away songs. But premonition of evil might come to the shaman at any time of the year. Then he informed the keeper of the smoke, who sent for the singers and the ritual speaker. They sat in a circle, with an opening to the east, and sang the sending away songs.

All the songs quoted above could be used, but there were also some which referred definitely to the seeking of the evil charm.

11. Then I stand forth.
The crystal I hold up.
It gives light, and I see.(13)

12. Evening falls.
Then I stand up.

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789 ×539 My enemy I see.
Hi ii't.

Am I not a shaman?
Then I arise and look.
Having looked upon the land,
I know.
Hi ii't. (13)

13. Something I am doing, doing.
Through the ground I shall keep boring;
This water I shall surely see.(13)

14. Foul, foul!
Here before me it is imbedded;
It is moving to and fro.(13)

789 During the singing the shaman, with his crystal, looked for the exact location of the evil charm. He saw it like a light in the distance and, taking a few helpers, went out to pull it up, while the men still sang in the council house to give him power.

He would have to stop frequently to locate the tube, and each time his helpers sang the driving away songs. Finally, he left his helpers and went alone to the burial place of the charm. Its "tail" stuck up above ground, and on this he pulled, while the charm wriggled frantically under the earth, pulling the shaman to and fro. In some legendary cases the shaman was pulled underground and never came back. But the strong shaman ultimately dragged out the charm. Several informants assured the writer that they had seen this process and seen the shaman faint with the effort.(33) After it was pulled up the charm was burned, and this burned the sorcerer's heart so that he died.

683 789 The sorcerer who failed to receive retribution in this way might very well be killed by public or private agency. His kin would not defend him. "They thought maybe those who killed him were right. Or they thought, if they tried to avenge him, the rival shaman who had accused him, would cast spells on them."(21)

766 The dead shaman, whether good or bad, was always placed in the oldest form of Papago grave, the small shelter built above ground, walled with stones and roofed with branches. Food and

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"The Keeper and the Sacred House go together. They were decreed in the beginning by Elder Brother" (2). Some thought that in very ancient times this Keeper was the only official. "He went to Elder Brother and got his directions. Then he came back and showed the people what to do" (20). "He went before them like a light. He was their teacher and their father" (40). "He got the Wise Speeches from Elder Brother himself" (4). He was, in fact, a priestly ruler, much like the cacique in the Rio Grande pueblos.

His principal duty was the handling of the fetish which gave the village rain and therefore life. This meant the care of the sacred house where the fetish was lodged on important occasions and, finally, the presiding over all meetings held there. In the earliest times, he lived in the ceremonial house and received the men there for meetings while his family slept. At present, he lives beside it and his wife keeps it clean.

The house was used for meetings both ceremonial and secular and, on such occasions, it was the Keeper's duty to make the fire (hence one of his titles) and then mount to the roof of his shade and summon the men. Sometimes he had younger men to perform both of these functions for him. He called meetings to decide on the dates of ceremonies and whenever the other officials, the war, hunt and game leaders, had communications to make. When the men assembled, he sat at the west of the house, facing the door and opened the meeting with a moral talk bidding them pay attention to what was to be said and use their best judgment.

He acted as priest in all the important local ceremonies held for rain, for growth and for cleansing of crops and must know the appropriate Wise Speeches for each occasion. One informant gave him perquisites which remind one most strongly of the Pueblo cacique. "He must not be bothered with quarrelling. The people used to till his land for him because he worked so hard in the ceremonies." Certainly his land is not tilled for him now, and I have known an old Keeper in actual want because even his young relatives neglected him.

Beside his priestly functions, the Keeper acted as a patriarchal advisor to the village. The importance we give to this duty must depend on whether we consider the secular governor a modern official or an old one. Certainly the reliance on some aged leader as a patriarch and almost a dictator to the village is a pronounced Papago custom. At present that leader is often the secular governor and we need to consider whether he has always had such functions or has taken them over from the priestly leader. In view of the frequent statements that the Keeper was once the only village head,

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the visitors were "paid for their entertainment" in goods. If they planned either of these elaborations, it would be proposed at the time of the challenge, the challenger saying, "We want to sing for you." This singing rarely took place without the subsequent race, so that "we want to sing for you" actually meant a challenge to a race.

The whole performance was not only a way of exhibiting prowess but definitely a means of getting material goods. The Papagos have been accused of exploiting their agricultural relatives, the Pimas, in this way.[1] They did the same for the Yuma at Somerton,[2] always making their visit at harvest season. Their skill at running and singing was made a weapon with which to fight hunger.

The challenge accepted, both sides trained their runners. Soon after harvest the challenger again visited the council of the challenged, again proffered the cigarette, and went over the proposition: "I have said that we would train our runners. We are now ready. I have come as I promised." He was answered: "It is well. You have come as you promised. We also have trained our runners."

Then the date was set: usually the conventional ten days ahead, the contest to take place on the eleventh. During this time both sides collected all the goods they were to bet and made the journey to the village of the challenged. "We filled the roads going along on our horses. Everybody was leading extra horses to bet and we had baskets and pots and buckskins tied on their backs. "We bet everything. Women would take off their dresses, men their shirts. Sometimes when people went home again, they had not a single pot or basket in the house. They would dig holes in the ground to serve food." (26)

All the stakes were placed in a pile which was guarded all night by shamans from both sides. The shamans "raced for us with their tricks all night". They performed feats of swallowing fire or sticks and of causing articles to come to them out of the air. Meantime in each camp singers, who knew the running or kickball songs, went through the whole cycle to make the opponents weak and blind.

"There was a shaman at Archie, called Something-Laid-There-Loose, who could shoot at a rainbow, cut off a piece and put it on top of a runner's head. Then that runner remained always the same distance ahead of the others, like the rainbow. He had done this for the best Archie runner, who was known everywhere as the champion. Mesquite Root wanted to challenge Archie, but their shaman advised them not to. "I can do nothing," he said, "against the Archie shaman. His knowledge comes from the morning star, but mine only comes from Elder Brother."

[1] Russell, p. 171. [2] Gifford, 1933, p. 262.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

"Work hard," they were told, "and the magic serpent will come and show you designs for baskets." An informant had this experience, though she did not see the serpent.

"When I am making baskets, I hear a voice speaking to me. 'Put a cactus here. Put a turtle there. There, put a Gila monster.'" (26)

Women might acquire curing and, in the old days, rain-making powers after the menopause.

Some light is thrown on the psychological function of the dream by the experience of a woman informant which would seem to be typical. She had all her life observed a practice of midwives: pushing up the baby's palate to produce closure of the fontanelle (see p. 89). This appears to be an old Aztec practice.[1] Although the action was perfectly simple, the informant had never attempted it but in old age she took to dreaming. In one dream the Virgin Mary "and another lady" came and took her through a typically Papago visit to four pools, each guarded by a turquoise and each with a baby's head in it. The Visitants showed her how to spit on a shaman's crystal and touch the fontanelle, which then closed. When she awoke, she knew she could cure the baby's disease. She had no crystal but she did not trouble about it nor about the rest of the ritual. She proceeded to cure babies by pushing up the palate as she had seen others do. All she needed was the dream validation (26).

The Papago dream experience takes its place as a local version of the Guardian Spirit idea which is, in essence, a proclamation of the ability of the individual to attain eminence, regardless of his hereditary status. Such an idea is held both to east and west of the Papago, in varying forms.

The River Yumans, to the west, believed that power-bringing visions came by chance, in natural sleep, and, though an individual's whole success in life depended upon his dreams, he was powerless to induce them. Stated in modern terms, this reflects a belief in the innate superiority, perhaps also superior luck, of certain individuals. The subject of the dream was not an animal, as with the Papago, but a mountain or a supernatural being; sometimes merely a prophetic experience.[2]

On the Plains to the east, the vision was induced by efforts of the recipient, demanding a will power would see him through repeated

[1] Sahagun, Seler, pt. 9, sec. 8, p. 366.

[2] Kroeber, 1925, p. 754; Spier, 1933, p. 236; Gifford, 1933, pp. 303—4; Forde, 1931, pp. 182, 183, 189, 190.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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toward a hill that stood against the sun, and there I saw a man on a horse, with a long pole in his hand. "There is a man with a cactus pole," I said. But it was not a cactus pole. It was a lance. Only I had never seen lances, for our people do not use them. My husband said very low: "It's an Apache." I cried. He said: "Don't cry. They'll hear."

He got up and got on the horse. He took some arrows out of his quiver, strung one, and held the others in his hand ready to shoot. "Throw away that prickly pear and hang the basket on the saddle!" I turned out the basket and hung it on the croup. "Get up quick!" I stepped on my husband's foot and mounted.

The Apache stood there against the sun. He had feathers on his head and a blanket around his waist, and he carried his quiver over his right shoulder. If I had seen that before I should have known he was not one of our men. Ours carry the quiver at the waist. Imagine carrying it any other way! How would you use it?

That Apache hallooed: "Ai-i-i-i-i!" He was telling the other Apaches that there were Desert People in sight. Two more came out and there were three of them. They started coming toward us. We galloped fast and when we looked back they were following. I do not know when they turned back. We galloped all that day. When we came to the hidden water holes, we just stopped to drink, and when we were in the open land with the bare mountain looking down on it, where the Apaches hide, then we galloped, galloped, galloped.

We did not go alone to Mexico any more.

We came home to Where the Water Whirls Around in the Yellow month, when the greasewood bushes begin to flower in our own land. You know they flower before the rain, little yellow blossoms all over the flat land as far as you can see, so that they look like lights. When those flowers have gone, you see the white blossoms on the top of the giant cactus, sitting there like big white birds that have just come.

Then we picked the cactus fruit and we made our liquor. But this time I did not sit on the top of the house while the others drank it. No! My husband's brothers did not take their wives to the singing, but my husband always took me. I was the best singer of them all. It was not for nothing that I had heard my father's songs. On the very first night of the singing, the messenger, whom we call Blackface, came galloping to all our houses: "Hail! Come tonight. Help us to bring down the moisture! Pull down the good clouds. Come and enjoy yourselves with your relatives." Then he always turned to me: "My relative, now the time has come when you should help us. Sing two nights, then you can go home and rest."

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

Then I took my baby and I went running with the other women down to the dance place. There was a little fire, and the eagle feathers strung up against the stars, and the liquor brewing, bubbling, where it was warm inside the council house.

In a great circle the men went round the fire, singing in the night to make the liquor brew. My husband walked at the head with his rattle. When we women came out of the dark to part the hands of the men and take our places between them, I stood beside my husband. There was where the best singers walked, boy and girl, boy and girl; those-who-stand-at-the-head.

[533] Within the Quijotoa Mountain
There is a trembling
The ocean water there within
Is shaking.

It makes me want to cry, that song which brings the good rain.

I left my baby lying on a blanket, and the other women watched it. Between songs, when the men lit their cigarettes in the magic fire and smoked in the dark, I sat down to nurse the child. Once I fell asleep. My father-in-law was one of the medicine men standing in the center of the ring, turning his eagle feathers this way and that to catch the wind that was bringing rain, because it was dry yet, no rain had fallen. My father-in-law shook his eagle feather over me and drops of rain fell in my ear. Then I woke and sang again.

[791] The medicine men made magic all night long, while we sang. They used to go to the string of eagles' feathers hanging outside the council house and shake them. If it was to rain soon, drops of rain would come whirling off those feathers. One man made a little pile of dirt and put a bit of eagle down on top of it. Eagle down is like the clouds; it calls them. Soon water came from the dry sky and wet that eagle down, so that the pile of earth was damp. Then he took up that eagle down and sprinkled all us dancers with it.

At the end of the second night's dancing, the medicine men told us when it would rain. We did not want it the next day, because that was when we drank our liquor. But after, when we were awake again and ready to plant our fields. And that was when it would come. We counted the days. On the night before rain should come, there was lightning in the south. On the next day, came the dust storm, bearing the rain on its back. And then the rain! But that was in the old days. Now the world is too old.

When the two night's singing was over, our liquor that was in the coun-

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

cil house fermented. Sometimes now it does not ferment in the right time, but then it always did. Then the Blackface came in the morning to call us to the Sit-and-drink. We sat in a circle outside the council house, and four medicine men sat in that circle at north, south, east, and west. My father-in-law was always one, and I sat beside him to help sing. Oh, I had a loud voice then.

They passed the liquor to the medicine men, and those men cleaned it, rubbing their hands around the basket. Then we drank, all of us, one after the other, from a cup gourd that the cup bearer dipped in the basket. Ours is good liquor. It does not make you fight and think unhappy thoughts. It only makes you sing. We sang, nodding our heads slowly back and forth, for that is the right way at the Sit-and-drink.

When the liquor was all gone we went to the houses. Each woman had brewed liquor for herself. She mixed it well and buried it in the earth to keep warm, saying to it: "Now I put you in the earth. Do you ferment and let us get beautifully drunk."

So we went to our relatives' houses, my husband and I together. He held my hand to keep me safe, and I had the baby on my back and one little child by the hand. The big ones we left home on the housetop as my mother had done. When we came to a house, the people held out the gourd to us. We drank it all and then we covered it with a song: that is what we call it. I had songs that I had learned from my father. After I had sung, they called me by the term of kinship, as we do, and said: "A fine song." I always had plenty to drink because I could sing.

When we wanted to rest from drinking, we went to our own house because no family may drink its own liquor. If we did that, our houses would burn; it would be taking back what you have given. So we held out the gourd to the others and listened to their songs. Then we vomited and were rested and went out again.

VIII

My husband was a Coyote-Meeter. That is, when he had his medicine man's dreams, it was our comrade, Coyote, who came to him and sang him songs. It began when he went with the other men to the ocean to get salt, for that is where all our young men go when they want to meet some spirit. They gather the salt, and then they run along that great sandy place where the water is and where there are white birds flying over head. It was those white birds that had sung to my father, but with my husband it was different.

Running along alone, he saw a dead coyote on the sand. He stopped.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

at it, would try to influence it. Such interference might upset the whole Papago scheme of things. 771 609

Fear of interference is based to some extent on experience. For many years the government tried to stop the summer rain ceremonies because they involved wine and intoxication. With characteristic elasticity, the Papago merely attended the ceremony in another village when pressure on their own community became too severe. Such efforts on the part of the government were abandoned in 1933, when it was conceded that Indians, like other citizens, have a right to religious freedom. Presbyterian missionaries have tried to stop the "heathen rites" by forbidding their converts to attend, and within their own territory they have been fairly successful. The approach of the Roman Catholics has been quite different; they have worked slowly, trying first to eliminate from native belief what they felt to be contrary to their fundamental creed and then, with time and a good deal of sympathy and understanding, seeking to bring the people to more orthodox faith and practice. 771 609 797

Despite the fact that for a decade white interference has been very limited, much of the old religion has disappeared. In most parts of the Reservation people say that the old men who know the ancient ceremonies are dying off and that no one else has learned how to conduct them, and they bemoan the consequent disasters. This applies, however, chiefly to the ceremonials in which many participated. The rites of the medicine man and singers, which do not require a group, apparently flourish everywhere on the Reservation, though Papago fear that these may die off, too.

Papago ceremonial life seems to be mainly concerned with two things: rain and health. Though many of the old practices have disappeared, the emphasis on these two all-important areas continues.

BRINGING RAIN

Many Papago songs—secular as well as religious—mention the importance of rain, and everyone takes care to do the proper things to bring rain. (For example, when the cactus fruit is picked, its shell must be left on the ground with the inside exposed.) Though the medicine men's principal function is to diagnose the cause of illness, they also look for the cause when rain does not come. During the severe drought of 1943, medicine men from all parts of the Reservation met to inquire into the causes; one of the reasons appeared to them to be the killing of horses in the dourine epidemic. 789

Most of the old Papago ceremonials are in one way or another connected with bringing rain, even though the primary purpose may be different. The annual treks to the Gulf of California in the old days were made to get salt,

789 but they were also occasions when the rain spirits living over the Gulf were besought to follow the Desert People back to their homes. The Papago believe that official prohibition of these trips through Mexico has brought about a general decrease in rainfall. The circle dances still held on the Reservation are connected with rain-bringing; the Christian groups also have ceremonies to pray for rain, which will be discussed in the following section.

789 778 Another means of bringing the rain is the manipulation of the village fetishes. The fetishes consist of a sacred object; usually a stone, which is kept hidden in the mountains, and a medicine basket, which is kept in the home of the "Keeper of the Smoke." In the old days this official was the head man of the village, who presided at the council meetings in the village "round house" and also directed ceremonial life. After the Spaniards introduced the office of village chief, with authority over secular matters, the Keeper of the Smoke became a purely religious functionary. His duties now are to direct the wine ceremony and to care for the village fetishes, which must be carefully guarded, since they assure the well-being of the village and give supernatural sanctions to its existence. If any unauthorized person, such as a bad medicine man, should handle them, drought and disaster might ensue. Once a year, just before the wine ceremony, the Keeper of the Smoke brings the medicine basket before the men of the village and opens it. The handling of its contents and the wine ceremony together bring the rain.

789 273 Both the handling of the fetishes and many activities of daily life are directed to rain-bringing, but the principal means is the wine ceremony, which occurs after the fruit of the saguaro cactus has been picked in June. From the pulp of the fruit, syrup is made and carried back to the villages to be fermented for use in the ceremony, held sometime during the summer.

When the time has been set, each family donates syrup for ceremonial use, probably about four quarts. This syrup, together with some for family use, is sent to the round house for fermentation in large ollas. During the fermentation period of four nights, the syrup is carefully watched and tested by men who have learned the proper procedure, and all the villagers gather each night to participate in the songs and dancing which aid the process. They sing of clouds, wind, rain, and the growing of crops and perform a simple circle dance around a small fire in the dark night. Everything is done four times. While they sing and dance the medicine men rise and stand quietly, waving their sacred eagle feathers. If the feathers gather moisture or drip, the rain will come soon; if they stay dry, the rain is many days away.

After the medicine men announce that the wine has reached the proper stage of fermentation, they and the singers make set speeches. Then the wine

[Text continues on p. 76- Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

789 273 is ceremonially served to each adult in a prescribed order. When it is all consumed, families who have their own ollas invite their friends to join them and all reach a stage of mild intoxication. Many fall asleep. Sooner or later the rain comes—many individuals tell of having been caught in a heavy rain on the way home from a ceremony.

[184] The wine ceremonies are still general over the Reservation, with the exception of the two conservative western districts, where the custom lapsed twenty years ago. This apparent paradox may result from the fact that most of the present western villages were settled within the last two decades from mountain villages which no longer exist. Perhaps the old ceremonies disappeared with these villages.[1] Or perhaps they were discontinued during the quarrels over cattle and white administrative policy that divided the westerners for years. However, in the area around Gu Achi many old ceremonies are said to flourish.

The persistence of the wine ceremony in most parts of the Reservation shows its importance to the majority of the Papago today. Only the Presbyterians refuse to attend. Probably their overt expression would be that "those people over there" believe in such things but good Presbyterians do not; but what many of them really feel may be something different. Their profession of disapproval is a source of sorrow to the believers, but it does not, they feel, lessen the efficacy of the ceremony.

It should be noted that drunkenness is not the objective of the wine ceremony. It is a means to an end—to bring the longed-for rain that will make the fields green and bring food to the Desert People. The Papago feel that the wine brings happiness and song; it is a symbol of the renewal of life with the coming of rain and it is a purification of the mind and heart. The ceremony has a social function of erasing the evil and ill feeling of the past year. The speeches that precede the serving of the wine deal with proper behavior, stressing the old Papago virtues, peacefulness and harmony. It is these things which the ceremonial drunkenness is meant to bring.

733 Of late years other forms of drinking have increased tremendously over the Reservation. At the fiestas there is a good deal of drunkenness which sometimes leads to violence, and there is much drinking which is unconnected with any ceremony. The Papago themselves see the problem and are greatly concerned about it. Women and particularly children are afraid of drunkards and are deeply distressed when the men begin heavy and continuous drinking (see chap. xiv). The women do not mind the drinking itself; what troubles them is that it is done in the wrong spirit. Drinking should bring happiness

1. At one of the modern Hickiwan villages a round house was built about 1941 and wine is made each year, but there is no accompanying ceremony.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

DIVERSE CREEDS

THE OLD AND THE NEW

All the Sonora Catholics adhere to aboriginal beliefs. *Santos* are buried with the dead as food and clothing were in the old days. San Francisco and the rain spirits, Spanish prayers and the medicine man's eagle feather, are believed equally efficacious in bringing rain. During one severe drought, a medicine man decided that the cause lay in the inadequate care of *santos* which had been interred when their owner had died. So the medicine man directed certain women to retrieve the sacred pictures and bring them to the church, where a circle dance would be held. As the women were returning with the *santos*, a great storm broke. Thenceforth, these *santos* were kept in a shrine; they are pictures of San Francisco.

At another place on the Reservation, the women sought to end a drought by walking through the fields with their *santos* and singing Spanish hymns. This they did for four days. The rain came on the fourth day.

Thus the old and the new exist side by side or are inextricably blended. The Papago uses every means at his disposal to bring rain; he summons every power for good of which he knows to bring good luck and good health. Perhaps one or another of these powers is responsible; it does not matter, for the Papago has done what he could.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

When the Franciscans renewed Catholic missionary activities among the Papago early in the twentieth century, most of the Indians were Sonora Catholics. To the priests these people were hardly Catholics at all; their faith, the priests said, was a "religion of externals," of whose real meaning they were unaware.

In the southeastern, central, and extreme northern parts of the Reservation the Franciscans began to teach the Roman creed, to introduce the Mass and other sacraments, and to make the Papago "good Catholics." At about twenty villages there are now Roman Catholic churches (see Map I), and many Papago have been baptized, attend Mass, and send their children to one of the five mission schools on the main Reservation.

In the western districts the Franciscans have made little headway, and most of the people remain Sonora Catholics. Here the first converts were made about 1929, when a few children were baptized, and in the following years priests came now and then to draw more of the people into the fold. Some of the converts, however, reverted to the Sonora faith after a difference with the priests, who have since referred to them with grave disapproval as "Montezumas." In 1941 one Franciscan began to make regular trips to the west to

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

frain from butchering cattle or going hunting, as they did in the old days. The mother observes certain other taboos: she must not allow dogs to breathe upon her; she must not look directly at the sun; and, according to one informant, she must not stare at or mock a cripple, lest the child be similarly afflicted.[2] Today most parents apparently are not too concerned about these dangers, but if an illness of the child is attributed by the medicine man to some infraction of these rules, the parents readily accept the interpretation. One young father blamed his little son's illness on the fact that, during his wife's pregnancy, he had helped white men test the blood of horses.

The whole household looks forward with joy to the coming of another baby, for children increase the status of the parents, insure the future solidarity and prosperity of the household, and secure the elders against the privations of helpless old age. Although the male is dominant in this Indian group, not much preference is shown for boys; children of either sex are welcomed and treated with equal care. The Papago are aware, however, that one capable woman can manage a large household but that one man cannot handle a farm and herd. Hence the loss of a male child is felt more keenly, as is apparent in such phrases as "and it was a boy too!" There is no evidence that twins are considered undesirable or that one of them is put out of the way. Several sets of living twins are known to the writer, and people speak readily of the death of one of a pair of twins.[3]

BIRTH

The great majority of Papago are born at home. In the western districts, the distance to the Reservation hospital at Sells (sixty-five to one hundred miles), bad roads, and general distrust of white medicine keep most women from going to the hospital. Even the inhabitants of the eastern districts, who are closer to the hospital, do not seem to relish the thought of their babies being delivered by a white man.[4]

In childbirth at home the mother is attended by her own mother if possible; otherwise by her husband's mother or any adult female of the household. The woman in labor kneels and grips a post or is supported by the attendants. If

2. Ruth Underhill, *The Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, p. 156.

3. There is some indication that, if one twin must die, it should preferably be the last-born. A medicine man carves wooden figurines about seven inches high which represent the twins. One figurine is buried with the dead child and the other is kept in the house with the living twin. Each is thus thought to be unaware that his twin is not with him; neither will become lonely for the other and attempt reunion. In the old days, according to Underhill (*ibid.*, p. 158), twins were considered to have magic power.

4. Between 1940 and 1943 three Hickiwan women who had learned English at school went to the hospital, but two did not go until after difficult deliveries at home. In the East, hospital deliveries are more frequent, but they are still only a small fraction of the total.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU22
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work I undertake I may accomplish easily through your power."

Both Papago and Pima regarded tobacco smoke as a purifying agent possessing definite curative properties, and smoking was believed to clear one's mind so that he could think better. The shaman, while singing for a patient to ascertain the cause of illness, paused at regular intervals to smoke and puff it over the patient as a means of cleansing or driving out the causative agent, the idea of prayer also being associated with the smoking. The shaman did not grow tobacco for himself; he either hunted wild tobacco or it was given to him, as the Pimans held their shamans in high regard. A Papago man who had come into contact with the supernatural by killing an enemy or an eagle, or by joining the salt pilgrimage, needed to be purified by a period of segregation and fasting. When this period was ended, older men who had gone through the same experience sang a series of ritual songs. Then each separately approached the novice and blew tobacco smoke over him, this portending success for his future.[9]

Smoking was essential while holding the ceremony for rain, and this was done by shamans, whose special task it was to see that the ceremony was held once a year (see fig. 5). They got together for four days and smoked, and their helpers danced. While smoking, these men searched for rain clouds and called on them to come. It was the office of this class of shamans to make it rain, and rainmaking was not a function of the general population.

[9] Castetter and Underhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-7.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Chapter X

GENERAL CEREMONIAL ASPECTS OF PIMAN AGRICULTURE

Ceremonialism was feebly developed among the Pimans as compared with the Pueblos. Underhill[1] has pointed out that the native line of division among the Papago is along a north and south line, the more advanced groups being to the east, and the more primitive ones to the west. Thus the Archie group retains many of the old ceremonies abandoned elsewhere, such as the important ceremony of the Vikita. Although the Pima formerly had as much or more ritualism than did the Papago, it is much better preserved and more easily and completely obtainable from the Papago.

The Piman conception was that ritual was just as important as actual cultivation in producing a crop, and no crop could be expected without it, consequently there existed a variety of individual and collective magical practices associated with the various stages of cultivation.

There was no formal group planting ceremony, the planting ritual consisting largely of singing individual songs of invocation and praise, maize, teparies, pumpkins and tobacco being planted with an individual invocation, which centered around maize as the principal crop. Also, with the Papago, the chief in each village got the people together just before planting time and exhorted them, saying it was now about time to plant crops, and that they should plant and industriously care for them. The day before planting started people began singing planting songs and continued until their repertoire was exhausted. During the summer, various nights of group singing were held to encourage the growth of crops. The most common of the various magical

[1] Underhill, *Papago*, pp. 60, 234-35.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
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practices in parts of the Papago territory, to insure a good yield of both wild and cultivated crops, was to make effigies of the desired fruits and plant them in the gathering grounds after a night of ritual singing; or merely an ironwood stake would be planted instead of an effigy. In general the Papago did not ask for things directly, but in their rituals made statements to the Great Spirit and assumed their needs would be taken care of.

In addition to individual or personal ritualism, the Pimans had certain group ceremonies. After the crops had been put away, inter-village rejoicing often took place, at which games and races were held; this was occasion for jollification, as food was plentiful. People from other villages who helped in the observance were given meals and, at times, such products as corn to take home as a reward for their services. This celebration was held reciprocally from year to year, but always at a village which had harvested a good crop.

A characteristic and important Papago ritual was the green corn ceremony, held when the plants were about three feet high and just before the grain began to set, usually in September. Men gathered ocotillo poles and sang songs over them, then went to the fields and stuck an ocotillo rod at the base of certain corn plants, as well as representatives of each of the several kinds of crops. The object was to invoke the plant to grow strong like ocotillo and bear fruit. This ceremony was a combination of solicitation for a good crop and thanksgiving for those already received.

A regular ritual, practiced by both Papago and Pima, was the rain ceremony held at the time of giant cactus harvest (see fig. 5). This celebrated the beginning of the Piman New Year, and was the occasion when the fruit of sahuaro was fermented to yield an alcoholic beverage, which was drunk in quantity. This was performed specifically to bring rain, and, formerly, planting was never begun until after the first rain ceremony had been held. This was not because it

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pi Pa 241 789 635 was taboo, but due to dryness of the soil. Any village which found it convenient held the first ceremony and "caused the rain," then other villages in succession held celebrations during the summer to insure the continuation of rains. One custom was to erect two poles outdoors, about fifteen feet apart, and stretch a rope between them; on this shamans tied eagle feathers, symbolical of clouds, and all danced around these ceremonial objects.

Pi Pa 241 789 787 Pima informants spoke of a "rain calling" ceremony in which certain groups of people got together in the council house for the purpose of bringing rain. Runners were sent out into every part of the village to secure all available sotol mats, then four posts were erected in a square and the mats arranged around these to form an enclosure, leaving an entrance at the east. Large baskets were placed upside down around the wall, inside the enclosure. Three shamans sat near the west wall, facing the east, with singers behind the baskets. Before each shaman was placed a large bowl containing eagle down, symbolic of clouds, and laid beside the bowls were tail feathers of an eagle. Using notched wooden rasping sticks, the musicians made a peculiar noise by drawing these over the baskets, and all joined in the singing. This was done four times. At certain stages each shaman took all the eagle down from the bowl in front of him, grasped it tightly in his left hand, rubbed it with his right hand and held it to the west, rubbed it again and held it toward the east, and so on in all directions. Then, changing the feathers to his right hand, he moved around in front of the baskets shaking the feathers toward the singers.

This ceremony was carried on during the entire night, and, at its close, the shamans revealed what they had "seen" during the night and prophesied how many days would elapse before it rained.

This is doubtless the "rain-calling" ceremony referred to

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Fig. 5. Papago Rain Dance. (Reproduced from Underhill, *The Papago Indians of Arizona and their Relatives the Pima*, through the permission and courtesy of Dr. Willard W. Beatty, Director of Education, U. S. Office of Indian Affairs.)

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5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
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by Hrdlicka,[2] held by the Pima during the long dry spell ending in the spring of 1905, in which notched sticks of greasewood *(Sarcobatus vermiculatus)* were rubbed along smaller plain sticks.

A modification of the above was the performance of a growing season ritual, held just before crop plants began to set fruit. Singers lined up along the edges of a field, each equipped with a notched rasping stick of creosote which he drew over a plain, slender creosote stick. Starting at the western end of the field, the singers, led by a shaman, moved around its edge until they arrived at the eastern end, meanwhile accompanying noise of the rasps with singing. They used no other ceremonial equipment, and the purpose of the performance was to call upon higher powers to give the people a good crop of well-developed fruits.

Informants said that formerly there was more rain in the Papago and Pima country; the reason for this was that the world was then newer and had greater power, also that more rigid observance of the ceremonies increased the rain.

One of the important Papago group ceremonies was the harvest festival. The Papago villages in the Santa Rosa Valley held this ceremony of Vikita jointly at the end of November or in early December, presumably every fourth year (in the southern part of Papaguería every year). However, its actual occurrence at Santa Rosa depended largely upon a successful harvest rather than the passing of any stated interval. This festival has been described in some detail by Lumholtz, Mason and Davis,[3] although the ceremony discussed by Davis, held in August at Quitobaquito, in Sonora, was accompanied by the drinking of much sahuaro wine, a feature obviously missing in early winter at Santa Rosa. The purpose of this ceremony was to invoke the higher power to give the people a good crop, to bring rain, free

[2] Hrdlicka, *Notes on the Pima of Arizona*, p. 41.

[3] Lumholtz, *New Trails*, pp. 92-8; Mason, *The Papago Harvest Festival*; Davis, *The Papago Ceremony of Vikita*.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
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crops from disease and to insure good health and long life. The paraphernalia used consisted of effigies representing clouds, corn, sahuaros, chollas, mesquite beans, deer etc., and were carried in a procession by masked singers. Every man in each village made some such effigy out of twigs and colored cotton, and this he carried to the scene of activity. Painted prayer sticks, adorned with fine turkey or eagle feathers, and the bull-roarer symbolized growing corn, lightning, thunder, clouds and the sound of rain. A group of clowns performed a variety of activities, such as carrying long poles to represent those with which sahuaro fruit is gathered, gourd rattles, portraying giant cactus trees, and wearing turkey feathers on their heads to symbolize the fruit. There were also representations of the sun and moon. They went through the motions of shooting at men disguised as deer, or at imaginary jackrabbits, antelope and other game. A replica of a field was made by each village, and sand brought from the arroyo was placed nearby to portray the mouth of the arroyo close to the field. Clowns in proper costume investigated to see if these "fields" were in proper condition, and imitated people working in fields by cleaning the "ditches" and burning "weeds." Shamans sprinkled cornmeal on the breasts of everyone, thus preventing sickness and bringing them long life, and, according to Davis,[4] such meal was made only from branched or twin ears of corn. Representatives from each village sang their cycle of eight songs, repeating as often as necessary, for singing continued all night. Just before dawn, the singers disrobed and painted themselves in a spotted fashion to depict multicolored ears of corn, principally blue, red and white. Girls carried ears of blue and white corn, and in each village group there were two men who represented yellow corn. Invariably the best specimens of corn, pumpkins and teparies were used in this ceremony. Content of the songs represented a description of the appearance of clouds, the occurrence of thunder, light-

[4] *Ibid.*

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
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ning, of rain and water running in the arroyos, of corn growing and fruiting. The purpose was to assist in producing a plentiful harvest and to give thanks for favors already bestowed.

Pima informants said that in earlier years their people had taken over from the Papago, in a half-hearted way, the ceremony of Vikita, but that it soon died out. However, in 1906, Brown[5] described a Pima-Maricopa harvest festival formerly held south of the village of Blackwater on the Gila, and, though known as a harvest festival, it might be performed on one or more important occasions each year. Here a group of musicians beat drums of carefully burned out cottonwood logs, a piece of half-tanned deerskin stretched across each end. Others drew bone rasps over the bottoms of upturned baskets, which had been spread with a layer of the gummy secretion of the mesquite tree. An unusual feature of this celebration was that the performers carried wooden and stone phalli, which were doubtless symbolic of fertility. Also, they carried long wands, evidently prayer sticks, tipped with feathers of wild turkey.

Some ceremonial practices and beliefs similar to those found among the Pueblos were also to be observed among the Pimans. One of these was color-direction association. The Piman ceremonial number is four, and four directions are recognized, associated with ceremonial colors. As applied to maize, one Pima informant at Sweetwater volunteered the information that white corn is east; red corn, west; blue corn is north; yellow corn, south. In addition, variegated corn was said to represent "up," while "down" corn was nearly black. This informant was asked on a number of different occasions to repeat the relation between directions and colors of corn and the results were invariably the same; we found it impossible to confuse him. Although this color direction does not check exactly with that given by Parsons,[6] who has listed a

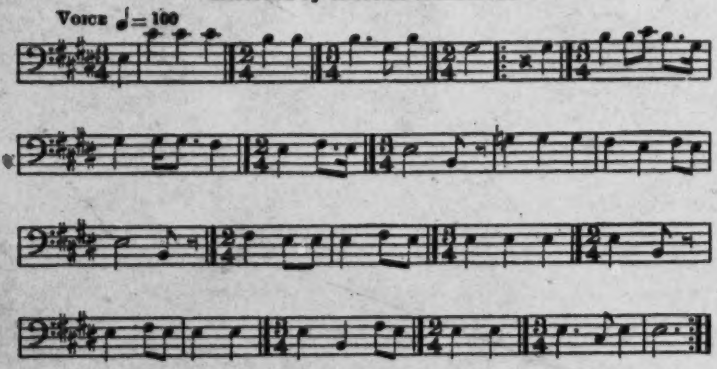
[5] Brown, *A Pima-Maricopa Ceremony.*
[6] Parsons, *Notes on the Pima*, p. 459.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

No. 112. "You Make Me Drink Red Water"

(Catalogue No. 979)

Recorded by MATTHIAS HENDRICKS



TRANSLATION

A red water you made me drink,
When I was drunk I went around as though I would fall down,
I fell on the ground face downward.

Analysis.—This song contains six sorts of ascending and four sorts of descending intervals, which is an unusual variety. It is a particularly pleasing melody and a majority of its phrases are four measures in length. The lowering of the third adds interest to the song.

A somewhat different tradition of the origin of the rain ceremony had been given by Sivariano Garcia of San Xavier village. This was read to Jose Antoin, who said that he had heard an old man relate it and that it was the Pima tradition. Garcia's narrative is as follows: Long ago, when the Papago first came to this region, there was no water and the medicine men brought rain. The custom began at Casa Grande. A medicine man living there made a long cactus, but he did not like it. He picked the fruit when it was so dry that the seeds were ready to fall. He handed it to one of his men, saying, "Take it back, I do not like it here." This man met Coyote, who wanted the seeds. The man handed them to him, and then wanted to get them back, but Coyote instead of giving them back held his hand high, and scattered them broadcast. The wind was blowing toward the north, therefore the giant cactus is everywhere growing on the south slope of the mountains and in low places. Garcia said that the medicine man made his cactus sink down in the earth, but it came up on the mountain called Kihotawak.[346] A bird was flying over the mountain and saw the cactus. He picked some of the fruit

[346] This mountain is named from its resemblance to an inverted burden basket (kiho).

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

and took it back to the village, and the people made it into wine. They put the wine in ollas, and the second morning it was ready to drink. Two or four villages united in making the wine. At this time the medicine men worked to get a knowledge of the rain. If their report was favorable the people planted their crops in a few days. If a medicine man could not locate the rain the first night he worked part of the next day and part or all of the next night, but if three or four men worked at the same time they could find the rain sooner. Garcia said that he had frequently been present at this ceremony and had learned many of its songs, four of which he recorded. If the people moved about the place they walked gently and slowly so as not to distract the attention of the medicine man who went around slowly, beginning at the east, then going to the north, west, and south to see if he could feel a cool breeze. In summer the rain came from the east, later from the north, and in winter or spring from the west. He felt in all directions to see if he could detect rain, and when he thought that he had the right direction he tried to bring the rain from there. In doing this he used the means that were given him when he was made a medicine man. In the old days a man was not afraid of a test of his power. For instance, he would take in his hand the driest thing he could find and would squeeze water out of it.

The people sang to increase the power of the medicine men, this being similar to the custom of "singing for the medicine men" when they were trying to locate the enemy for a war party. (See p. 183 in which the people sang with the doctor in treating the sick, thus putting forth their power to supplement his.)

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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already covered us a good while, it is now time to begin to sing and dance, and everybody bring tobacco."

We had three Indian guests at our meal, and afterward we all went over to the dancing place, or, as the Indians call it, the singing place (*njúikot; njúi*, sing), a level piece of ground always found in front of the medicine lodge. In the dim light a long string of eagle plumes hanging across the space between two upright poles from east to west could be discerned. Near the western pole a solitary fire was burning; two medicine-men were sitting there with their backs turned toward it and facing the east. Behind the fire, in the west, was the lodge, and in front of this stood a jacal, the light shed invariably seen near the dwelling or lodge. They sat there immovable in mystic contemplation of rock crystals and queer objects which were spread before them on the ground, and by the aid of which rain is procured; among them, my informant said, was a small stone, translucent and bright, which few have seen. If rain is not near, the stone is very warm and has to be cooled and purified, an operation which the medicine men were about to undertake.

My attention was next attracted to a long basket of enormous proportions placed between east and west on the ground at the foot of the western pole, near the doctors. It was of the same oblong shape as the ordinary medicine basket of so many tribes, and serves as a receptacle for the sacred paraphernalia of the lodge. Here the string of eagle feathers hanging near by is kept during the year. It is provided with a cover of the same

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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783 411 Next morning I had an appointment with the Keeper of the Smoke. Some days before he had promised to make for me a shield of the same kind as the Papagoes until quite recently were in the habit of making when going on the war-path against the Apaches. As this is a solemn act, which entails much fasting and praying on the part of the maker, and also as it would mean, according to Indian notions, certain risks and observances on my part, we had agreed on a meeting at which I should be enlightened as to my duties and dangers in the matter.

Accompanied by Pablo I arrived at the medicine lodge at the appointed hour, which was "a little after the sun is over the horizon." We found the keeper sitting under the jacal in front of the lodge and facing the east. He was a stern, almost fanatical-looking Indian who conscientiously observes all the rules and regulations his religion imposes on him. There was no English or Spanish about this man. "I do not do things from hearsay," he began. "Every evening I make a fire east of the jacal (in the winter it would be inside the lodge) and tell the people what I know to be the truth. In this house I tell the people what to do, and this is the place where any undertaking should begin."

783 ● 781 756 He spoke for nearly an hour. The shield he would make alone, and the proper precautions would be taken, but he wanted to be assured that I would not trifle with it, and that I should help in its making by fasting. "People have sold you clown's masks and singer's masks," he continued; "that is very wrong, and should never have been done. The merit of the feast passes away with

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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those things. They ought to be returned, but I am not going to ask you to do that, because the things have been paid for, so it would not be right to have the bargains changed. But I want to tell you one thing which you probably do not know. Those objects are apt to make you ill, and when that happens, do not blame the Indians!"

When the time came for me to answer, I reassured him on the several points that caused him anxiety. The things I had acquired were going to be well cared for. I expressed my pleasure at the elucidation his talk had given me, and told him that I should like much to have another meeting with him by and by. He believed in me, he answered, and would meet me here again later on, but at present he was too busy making ready for the sahuaro feast which was soon to come off. He was glad to see me among his people, he added.

Next day, availing myself of the permission already obtained, we again visited the "cemetery" as well as other sacred spots in the neighborhood. I was shown the place where the elder men, sitting in a circle, make the small, bright blue prayer-sticks for the great harvest festival. One end is pointed, and to the other is tied a turkey feather; about two hundred and fifty of these are distributed at the feast in the interest of health, and some are buried later, to keep the fields moist.

The shrine of the buried jar is situated at the crossing of two tracks, one leading to the "children's cemetery," which is west of it. It is customary for those who visit the latter place also to call here and deposit some

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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701 It must not be forgotten what a part the supernatural plays [789] in the Indian's life; cure for disease is sought less in remedies than in magic devices, and combat with an enemy means first of all a fight of magic with magic. Once, as one of their tales goes, an Apache was completely surrounded, but the Papagoes feared to attack him until one of them stepped forward carrying his shield with its symbolic inscriptions and supposed magic effect. The Apache fired his rifle at him, but missed his aim because he was overcome by the shield's magic power, which even split his thumb, so that he could not fire straight. This was ascertained by the Papagoes when examining the body of the Apache afterward. 702 Nevertheless, the education of the boy included as a matter of course ability to handle arms and the mastery of all that pertained to making a good warrior. In the nightly meetings at the council house, he was taught, besides, how to practise for the races and how to hunt. A considerable amount of sane advice would be imparted to the young man, and I cannot refrain from quoting here the late Mr. Frank Russell in his recent memoir* on the Pima Indians, from whom the Papago segregated long ago. He describes the exhortations of a Pima father to his son in the following manner: "If you are wounded in battle, don't make a great outcry about it like a child. Pull out the arrow and slip away; or, if hard stricken, die with a silent throat. Go on the war trail with a small blanket. It is light and protection enough for

*Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington.

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

796 an arrow at it. The other went through the motions of killing the game by smashing the skull, and threw it over his shoulder. Then they went in search of more tracks, and in turn killed jackrabbits, deer, antelope, and other game, one at a time.

When the banner was paraded, one man carried a bush from which the clowns appeared to pick things. These represented [222] large, fat, yellow worms, which in the spring are sometimes found on bushes and are eaten by the Indians. The clowns gathered these in pantomime, and then built a fire to roast and eat them. Four times the banner was paraded about the ground. It [789] appeared to be a small square of white sheeting, upon which was painted a crude rainbow, clouds, and rain. Presumably it was intended to bring rain or to prevent drought. Late in the afternoon many of [273] the Indians, drunk from tizwin, staggered about the ground.

At sunset the last of the ceremony took place. The priests led the masked dancers in front of the singers' booth, and there the four masked men danced and sang; then all

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28
[facing p. 178]
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PL XIV

PARADING THE BANNER
(Photograph by Joseph Menager)

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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for who had dreamed of badger, rabbit, or eagle, and could sing songs to remove their power. If a rule had been broken, the ceremony must be gone through again beside the sickbed.

The Papagos, it is obvious, believed in the power of songs and dreams to a high degree. But they were not mystics. They were, and still are, a highly practical and industrious people whose days are spent in labor, while their artistic impulse finds its release in the singing of Elder Brother's songs and the composing of new ones to supplement them.

The collection of specimens and study of techniques were done during four visits to the Papago country, extending from July to October, 1931, August to October, 1932, February to October, 1933, and November to December, 1934. These visits were financed by successive grants from Columbia University in connection with a larger ethnographical study.

The authors wish to express their genuine appreciation to Dr. J. J. Thornber and some of his students at the University of Arizona for identifying numerous plant specimens. Special thanks are also due Dr. Thornber for assistance in providing certain information, particularly in connection with the cultivated plants. To Ellen Wright Castetter we are greatly indebted for assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

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In the following pages, the Papago words have been spelled according to the recommendations of the Committee of the American Anthropological Association on the Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 66, No. 6).

The vowels *a*, *i*, *o*, *u*, are pronounced roughly as in Spanish or Italian. The vowell *ï* is an unrounded central vowel whose sound approximates that of *i* in English *sir*. *p*, *t*, *k*, at the beginning of a word are pronounced without the aspiration which follows them in English; their sounds

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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UNCULTIVATED PLANTS USED AS SOURCES OF FOODS, BEVERAGES, SMOKING, AND CHEWING MATERIALS

1. Foods

The Papagos, like other peoples in the area, exploited the vegetable resources of the desert to the utmost, and the same plant at different seasons would provide not only roots, greens or fruits for food, but twigs for basketry, wood for implements or sap for dye.

In years when the rainy season was late they lived entirely on wild foods without planting at all. When the foods ripened, during or after the rainy season, enough was gathered and stored to last throughout the year, but just before the giant cactus harvest, food became very scarce, as is indicated by one of their names for May, *ko'ohk macat*, "the painful moon."

Some foods like the hackberry were simply used by the people in the neighborhood, while others like agave and acorns were gathered by special parties and either utilized or traded. There was one island of unusual flora on Elder Brother's mountain, Baboquivari. Here, near a permanent stream, grew the special luxuries he had provided for his people, and parties went to pick them for trade or on behalf of a village. Certain staples, however, grew in great quantity and these were gathered by everybody.

Different parts of the territory used different magical practices to insure a good crop, the most common being to make effigies of the desired fruits and plant them in the gathering grounds after a night of ritual singing. Sometimes merely an ironwood stake *(Olneya tesota)* was planted instead of the effigy.

When a crop was reported ripe the village organized its food gathering expedition. If the expedition were for